2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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much as a quarter of a mile apart. The greater congestion of the older settlements is correlated with greater fragmentation of holdings, due to the greater length of time they have been continuously occupied.

The population of Taleland, as of the remainder of the trans-Volta plateau, appears to have been increasing steadily in the recent past. In the older settlements it is clearly excessive in relation to the available land and the level of technical skill of the natives. This is the opinion both of Government officials and of the natives themselves. The natives always say that shortage of cultivable land was the main incentive for the migration of young men to the peripheral 'bush' zone in the past; and the men who have come to settle permanently in the peripheral settlements during the last two or three decades always ascribe their move from their natal settlements to the same cause. Labour migration during the past ten or fifteen years has been much influenced by pressure of population on the land in the most congested areas.

These economic adaptations of the natives and their general standard of living, as well as the territorial distribution of such clans as Mosuor biis in Taleland, compel the inference that the population has been increasing for some time. But adequate statistics for measuring the present rate of increase in the population, or for establishing its trend in the past, are lacking.[1]

There are no clear-cut geographical features regulating the distribution of homesteads in most settlements. The location of water-supplies has no bearing on it, since Tale agriculture relies wholly on rainfall, and domestic requirements are a secondary consideration, and offer no difficulties in the wet season. Towards the end of the dry season the domestic consumption of water is cut to the minimum necessary for cooking and drinking. When water is scarce, the average Talaŋ is content to go unwashed for weeks at a stretch. By the end of the dry season most surface supplies have vanished, and water is usually obtained from shallow pits, artificially deepened and enlarged from time to time by those who use them. These pits are regular water-holes (*bulog*), utilized solely for that purpose throughout the year. A large settlement has several, situated in the dry beds of what are strong streams (*kolog*), or in the depressions (*bo'ag*) which become swamps and pools during the rains. A water-hole generally serves the needs of the homesteads within a radius of about a quarter to half a mile. But at times of acute shortage the women and girls may have to go a mile or more to fill their water-pots.

Variations in elevation influence the scatter of homesteads to some extent. Inured though they are to the discomforts of their climate, the Tallensi prefer to build on high ground if possible. Thus, in the older settlements, homesteads tend to cluster closer together where there is a rise in the ground, and to be few and far between where there is a de-

[1] Reliable reproduction rates, either for the Northern Territories as a whole or for Taleland in particular, cannot be calculated from the data given in the abstract of the census of 1931, and there are no other official statistics, published or unpublished, which could be used for this purpose. My own exiguous demographic data suggest that the population of the older Tale settlements is increasing, though not steeply.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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PLATE IX

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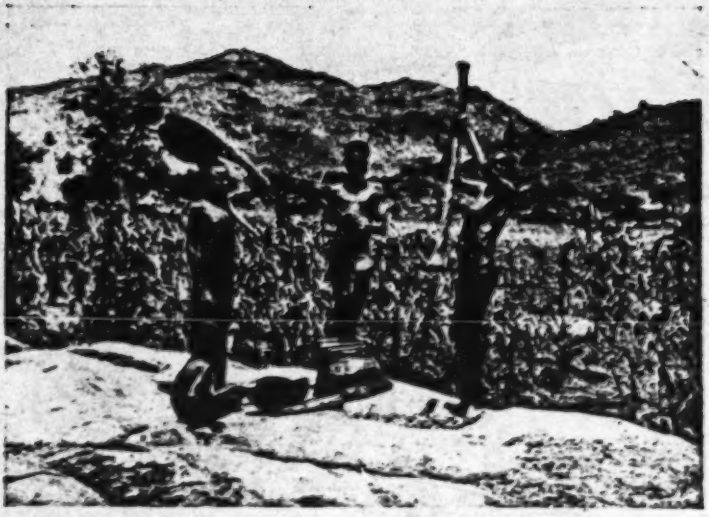

(*a*) A large boulder in the middle of a settlement forms a natural mortar where young girls go to stamp guinea corn.

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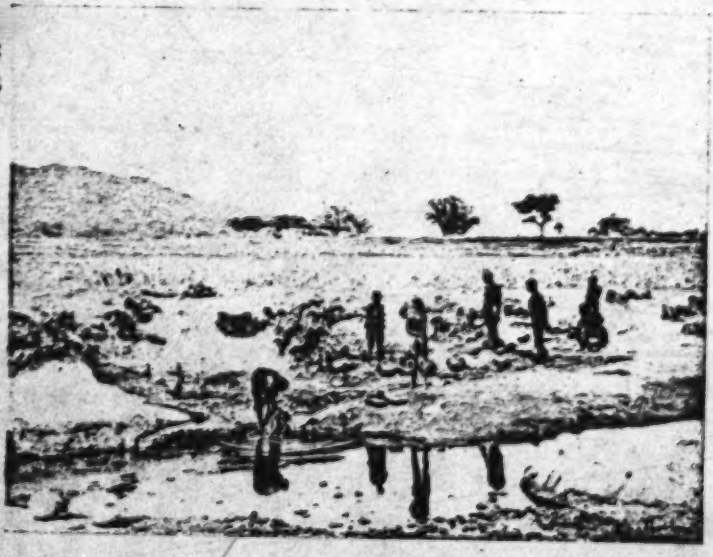

(*b*) Women at a waterhole in the early rainy season. This waterhole serves homesteads within a radius of over a quarter of a mile.

[facing p. 176]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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not infrequently that a woman has only an open kitchen and uses her sleeping-room for wet-season cooking and for storage purposes.

A woman owns all her cooking utensils, and it is usually her mother who equips her with these as soon as her husband has built her a kitchen. Before that she uses the pots of the woman whose kitchen she shares. The fittings of a Tale kitchen are not elaborate: a fireplace consisting of two stones placed side by side against the wall; a flat stone or low stool facing it on which the woman sits while cooking; the stirring-stick leaning against the wall to the right of the fireplace, and one or two old and partly broken calabashes to the left of it; this is the complete picture.

The most exacting task in a woman's routine is the provision of firewood and water. She collects her firewood on her husband's bush farm or on unowned bush land, which may be as much as 4 or 5 miles from her home. It takes her the best part of a day to collect enough for three days. The strain of coping with her firewood requirements becomes acute when a woman has a new-born infant to care for and cannot absent herself for many hours at a time. She may therefore invite a young sister or cousin to come and stay with her and assist her; and such a young girl is often eventually taken in marriage by her husband. Co-wives never lend or give each other firewood; but when a woman has recently been confined, her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood when they come to congratulate her, and her husband looks about for heavy logs to bring home to her. He may assist her to carry water, too, for a few days. This is the only time when a man performs these domestic duties. At the end of the harvesting season each woman carefully collects guinea-corn stalks from the fields and stores them on the flat roof of the sleeping-room or inside the kitchen for firewood.

Water is kept in large earthenware pots (*kwoor*) in the kitchen. There is no scarcity of water during the rainy season, as every ditch and furrow becomes a stream, but in the dry season it is a problem. The women and young girls spend many patient hours at the water-holes collecting the water, drop by drop, in their calabashes, as it seeps through the moist sand. This water is kept for cooking and drinking purposes only. A few water-holes do not dry away completely, but become foul with rotting vegetation and stagnancy. The

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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natives regard this water as unsuitable for their own consumption, but use it as drinking-water for fowls, for building purposes, and to wash in. There are no special rights of use attached to water-holes, but as a rule each water-hole serves a group of compounds within a radius of not more than 300 yards.

A proper meal, according to Tale values, must consist of cooked food; and two meals a day are considered to be necessary for the satisfaction of ordinary needs. When the granaries are full and the women are given grain liberally this standard can be reached, but not in the lean months.

The owner of the granary distributes grain periodically to all his wives and those of the householders dependent upon him. He never descends into the granary himself, but appoints a young man, preferably unmarried, to do so, lest the women complain of favouritism. Each woman receives the same measure regardless of her status or of the size of her family. Absolute equality is stressed. Even a young wife without a kitchen receives an equal share. The measure, a small basket or calabash, remains the same throughout the seasons, but the period for which the housewife must make it last varies. When grain is plentiful they receive the measure daily. They will cook food at noon and at sunset, and some will make enough to suffice for the next morning's breakfast. In times of scarcity the same amount of grain has to last two or three days. It is left now to the individual household and family to supplement its food resources as best it can. If a noon meal is cooked at this time, it is made of grain obtained from the ancillary sources we have previously described. Every woman carefully considers her supply, limiting the number of meals so that the family may be assured of the evening meal as regularly as possible.

However, shortage of food is not alone responsible for the uncertainty of meals. Woman is the pivot of the whole domestic life. She carries on her duties throughout pregnancy till the moment of labour approaches, and again as soon as her period of confinement is over (three or four days). But she is also absolute mistress of her home, and when she refuses to cook her husband cannot compel her to. Nevertheless, a woman will miss cooking a meal only for very good reasons, e.g. when she has been working in the fields late, sowing or harvesting, or beating the floors of the compound, or has been away

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1. Bringing home firewood: Mother and daughter

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2. A woman in her kitchen (posed)

[facing p. 264]